Soviet Long Range Theater Nuclear Forces

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-- Soviet long-range nuclear forces have long constituted an important part of the Narsaw Pact's capability to execute nuclear strikes against European NATO. Ten years ago these forces--measured both in numbers of delivery systems and on-target weapons-were comparable in magnitude to Soviet intercontinental range "central systems."

# Graphic I

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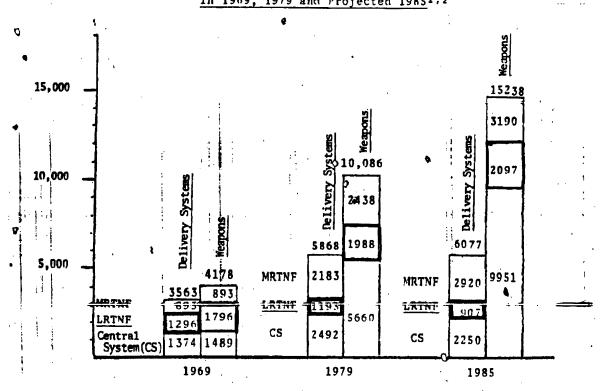
### Trends 1969-1979:

- -- The present mix of nuclear systems which the Soviets can bring to bear on the continental United States and European NATO, reflects the emphasis they have placed on the deployment of modern intercontinental range weapons. Dramatic growth has also taken place, however, in Pact medium-range theater nuclear forces. which have more than doubled since 1969.
- --Growth in LRTNF over the past 10 years has been less dramatic. In fact, the number of delivery systems oriented on European NATO has actually declined since 1969 and currently stands at a level of almost 1200 missiles and medium bombers. However, the number of deliverable bombs, air-to-surface missiles and warheads has increased somewhat and currently totals nearly 2000.
- \* PRM-38 and subsequent working groups have employed the NATO Nuclear Planning Group usage with respect to theater nuclear forces. According, throughout this text, Long-Range Theater Nuclear (Forces (LRTNF) are those theater nuclear systems with missile range or air; raft radius of over 1000 kilometers. Medium-range systems (MRINF) are those with range or radius of between 100-1000 kilometers, and short-gange systems (SRTNF) are those with ranges of less than 100 kilometers,

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### Pact Nuclear Forces Oriented on the US and NATO, in 1969, 1979 and Projected 19851,2



Includes "central systems" plus those medium and long-range (≥ 100 km) theater nuclear forces oriented on Europe.

<sup>2.</sup> Projections are consistent with NIE 11-3/8-78 and NIE 11-6-7g.

# Comparison with NATO:

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--The magnitude of Soviet LRTNF with respect to NATO forces has not changed significantly, since 1969 even though the Allies--notably the French-have deployed several ballistic missile submarines. The US has also deployed F-111 aircraft to bases in the UK.

# Graphic II

- --Currently the number of in-place Soviet LRTNF delivery systems--as well as weapons--exceeds NATO's by a ratio of about 2.6:1. The composition of the NATO and Soviet force differs greatly, however, as exemplified by the relatively large share of Soviet weapons carried by land-based ballistic missiles.
- --It is this specific set of Soviet LRTNF which concern the US and NATO and will be the focus of arms control efforts. In addition, it is the NATO LRTNF set represented on this graphic which is presently being considered for enlargement and moderpization.
- -- In addition to the in-place NATO LRTNF, the US has committed 400 Poseidon RVs to SACEUR. The missiles which carry these weapons are already SALT constrained, however, and would therefore not be the subject of any LRTNF negotiations.
- --Other long-range forces not represented on this graphic include the FB-111 medium bouber force, based in the US, as well as SACLANT-assigned and other US aircraft carrier nuclear strike forces.

# Importance of Pact MRTNF:

--Soviet and Eastern European operated medium and short-range forces opposite NATO have recently exhibited substantial growth. They are of increasing importance in considering the numerical balance of Pact and NATO theater nuclear forces.

Comparison of Pact an NATO Theater Nuclear Forces in Furope in 1979 by Rangel, 2, 3

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delivery systems, and the second ( ) the number of weapons, NOTE: For all line items, the first figure indicates number of

Aircraft and mined to democrat rejonds and Geographic area included in European NATO, Eastern Europe, the eight western-most military districts of Soviet Union, the two western LRA commands, and the three western Soviet fleet areas, not included.

Includes French systems.

Some "central system" missile tubes -- Soviet, UK and French.

committed to SACEUR, but already taken account of as central systems. Excludes

Counting based upon nominally nuclear capable aircraft would result in Pact/NATO totals of 2855/2140 In accordance with PRM-38, only "SACEUR nuclear-tasked aircraft are counted rather than nominally nuclear For the Pact, only those aircraft for which nuclear trained pilots are currently available are delivery systems, respectively. capable. counted.

SLOW launch rails on Soviet ships, submarines and missile fast-boats. **~** 6

Nike-Hercules SAMs modified to he secondarily capable of surface-to-surface strikes.

- --With the recent Soviet deployment—of nuclear artillery, the Pact has enhanced its short-range theater nuclear forces, which now slightly outnumber those of NATO.
- --Soviet and Pact MRTNF now exceed the in-place medium-range forces of NATO by a ratio of nearly 1.8:1 in delivery systems, and 2:1 in weapons. In numbers, the Pact possesses nearly 2,200 delivery systems capable of delivering about 2,400 weapons. Over half the delivery systems are dual-capable tactical aircraft, most of which have been deployed within the past 10 years.
- --The significance of asymmetrical geographic circumstances is illustrated by the fact that, from forward bases in Eastern Europe, Pact MRTNF can strike practically every target of consequence in Western Europe, while NATO MRTNF can reach only a few major targets on the Western fringes of the Soviet Union.
- --These Soviet and Pact medium range systems will not be considered in arms negotiations which are definitionally restricted to LRTNF. In addition, most of the Soviet tactical aircraft are deployed within the Soviet Union, and are hence not presently treated in the MBFR forum.

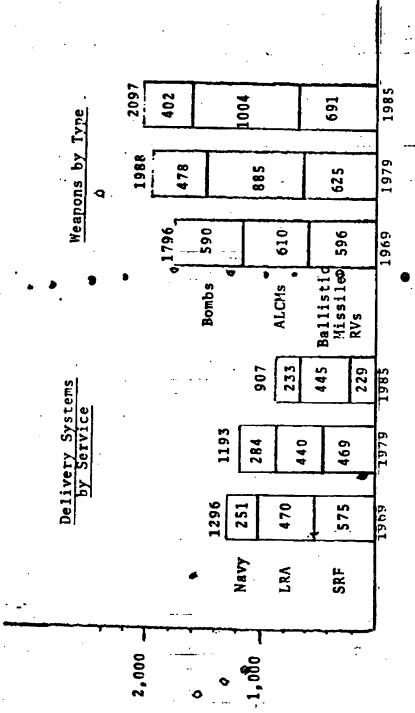
# Projections in Soviet LRTNF

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- --Refocusing on Soviet LRTNF... As noted earlier, the actual number of delivery systems in this category has decreased since 1969. This decrease will continue, and it is projected that by 1985 only about 900 systems will be operational opposite Europe.\*
- These projections are based upon the moderate level of effort deployment pattern described in NIE 11-6-78. A larger 1985 force could result from a higher level of effort than anticipated, or the retention of SS-4/5's in the force for arms control bargaining purposes.

Composition of Soviet LRTNF Opposite NATO by Service d by Type of Weapon, in 1969, 1979 and Projected 1985 and by



Includes only those LRINF forces or gented on European NATO Projections are consistent with NIE 11-6-78.

### Graphic III

- --These relatively modest quantitative changes in Soviet LRTNF are overshadowed, however, by significant, concurrent qualitative changes in the Soviet force. Principal among these are continued deployments of the Backfire medium bomber and the SS-20 IRBM.
- --There are presently about 100 Backfires operational with the Soviet Northwest and Southwest bomber commands and the three Western fleet areas. Some 230 will probably be operationally deployed in these areas by 1985, and will be distributed about equally between Soviet naval and long-range aviation, largely as replacements for older aircraft.
- --The low altitude and supersonic capabilities of the Backfire, as well as its improved avionics, and its stand-off ALCM armament, reader it particularly suitable in the naval strike role, or as a complement to ballistic missiles in the land attack role.
- --The first SS-20 IRBM launchers probably became operational in 1977, and about 60 are now thought to be oriented against Europe. It is projected that almost 200 will be arrayed against NATO by 1985.
- --Its three to four independently targetable warheads are significantly more accurate than the
  single SS-4/5 warhead, and its mobile basing
  mode renders it vastly more survivable. It uses
  solid fuel, and for this and other reasons has a
  faster reaction time than the SS-4/6. The system
  probably will ultimately be deployed with two
  refire missiles.

## Graphic IV ~

# Importance of SS-20 Refires

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--Given currently planned NATO TNF modernization programs, Soviet LRTNF--even without SS-20 refire missiles--will by 1985 exceed NATO hy a factor

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Comparison of Soviet and NATO LERINF in Europe in 1985, With and Without SS-20 Refires1,2

NOTE: For all line items, the first figure indicates the number of delivery systems, and the second () the number of weamons.

MAT 13 With SS-20 Refires **625(200**2)-1303(3411) 675(1406) Pact Suplements Aircraft **MAT** Without SS-20 Refires 907+(2097+ 675(1406 907 (2097) SAKS Pact Central System Supplements Aircraft PEVIREN

- Soviet Projections are based upon NIE 11-6-78.
- Assumes NATO TWF modernization programs of currently forseeable character and pace. Based upon a projection of 2 refires per SS-20 launcher. It is felt that that about one-third of the 55-70 force will be equipped with 4-MIRV warheads.
  - Reflects projected changes in French theater nuclear inventories. In 1986 a sixth French SSBN will probably be operational, and will provide an additional 16 missiles.
- An unknown number of Soviet ICBMs and intercontinental range SLBMs may be targeted on Europe

-- The inclusion of the 400 US Poseidon RVs into this comparison is offset to a unknown degree by the "central system" ICBMs and SIBMs which the Soviets are believed to have targetted against Europe.

# Graphic V

### Implications

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- -- Improvements in Soviet and Pact the ter nuclear forces at all levels are important in several ways...
- --The growth and modernization of medium-range TNF enhance the Pact's ability to wage war in Central Europe at whatever level NATO or they themselves choose, without having tq resort to USSR based bomber or missile forces.
- --Once the mobile SS-20 is deployed in larger numbers, the increased survivability characteristics of this force will render it practically

  This in turn will enable the Soviets to behave with greater confidence and restraint in a nuclear qr nearnuclear conflict.
- --If USSR-based TNF are employed, the large number of SS-20 warheads--including refires--and the high accuracy characteristics of that weapon would insure a high probability of prompt destruction of targets in Western Europe.
- --In theory these developments increase substantially the Soviet/Pact ability to execute a variety of limited nuclear warfare options--in contrast to previous strategic doctrine which visualized a massive nuclear pre-emptive strike, or response to NATO's first use. In recent years, Soviet planners have been examining such nuclear options and contingencies.

# Implications of Soviet/Pact TNF Improvements

- -- Increased ability to wage nuclear war in Europe without escalating to USSR-based forces.
- -If USSR-based TNF are considered ...
- \*High survivability characteristics of SS-20 will permit the Soviets to behave with greater confidence and restraint.
- \*Large numbers of SS-20 warheads/refires and high accuracy characterstics insure high probability of prompt target destruction.
- -In theory these developments ...
- Enhance Soviet capabilities to execute limited nuclear options
- The Soviets are presently exploring such options.
- Currently, however, Soviet planners appear pessimistic about prospects of containing intensity and geographic scope of any nuclear conflict.
- -Growing Soviet/Pact nuclear superiority at all levels could cause Soviets to believe that NATO might be reluctant to employ nuclear weapons in response to a conventional attack.
- Current NATO TNF modernization programs would not be viewed as altering

- --These doctrinal reviews nothwithstanding, Soviet writings and other evidence indicate that Soviet planners see little prospect of containing the intensity and geographic scope of a conflict once the nuclear threshold has been crossed by either side.
- --Perhaps the most significant implication of the growing Soviet and Pact nuclear superiority--at all levels--is the prospect that the military advantages to NATO of introducing nuclear weapons into combat have decreased. Compsequently, the Soviets may believe--increasingly--that NATO might be reluctant to employ nuclear weapons in response to a conventional attack.
- --Currently programmed NATO modernization steps would probably not be viewed as altering these foreseeable and--for the Soviets--favorable nuclear force trends.

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